EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE N.Y. TIMES AND THE U-BOMB

THE Nation

JANUARY 28, 1956
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ADLAI'S BANDWAGON

Should Liberals Climb Aboard?

Billions for Insecurity

Concluding The Big Guns

by Matthew Josephson

Turkey: Nato's Shaky Bastion

by Geoffrey Lewis

The Unfinished Civil War

by Harry Barnard

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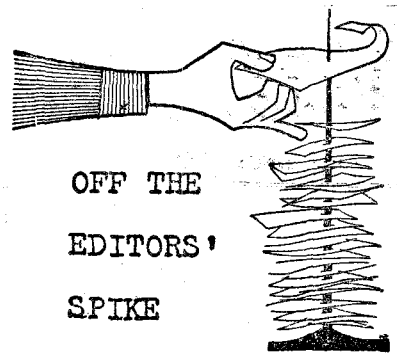

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

• One of the least known but ugliest of present-day dictatorships is that maintained by President William V. S. Tubman in Liberia. Seven of Mr. Tubman's political opponents in the last election have been convicted of treason and sentenced to death by hanging; six of the defendants are scheduled to go to the gallows on January 27, the seventh having turned state's evidence. The trial took place during the recent festivities in Monrovia on the occasion of Tubman's inauguration for a third term. Leonard Ingalls in a dispatch to the New York Times (January 14) quotes a foreign observer as saying of a previous election: "the whole atmosphere was detrimental to anyone else but Tubman." Indeed it was, for the chairman of the opposition party on this occasion was arrested and dragged through the streets of Monrovia at the end of a chain fixed to a jeep. But this is recent history; back in 1951, Tubman caused the arrest, on charges of sedition, of eighty-three leaders of the opposition party who had dared to sign a petition nominating D. Twe for the presidency, and the good Dr. Twe was forced to go into hiding (see, The Nation, May 5, 1951; June 9, 1951; January 26, 1952).

• The Journal of Commerce (January 13) has come up with some statistics which place the old story of pilferage on the New York waterfront in proper perspective. Export-and-import general cargo going through the port, exclusive of bulk items such as petroleum, had an estimated value for 1954 of $6.5 billion. Thus the estimate of $4 million for pilferage amounted to approximately $1 for each $1,600 in cargo handled. But the annual value of goods stolen in New York that year, apart from burglaries, was approximately $100 million. The ten largest department stores report losses through shoplifting of $10 million; more than $100,000 disappears every year from the subway gum-and-candy machines. Considering the casual character of waterfront empoyment, the pilferage rate at the port is not as high as it is invariably made to appear when cited, as it usually is, without reference to comparable situations.

• Dr. Will Winton Alexander, who died last week, was one of the wisest, most persuasive Southerners of his generation. As deputy director of the Resettlement Administration and later as director of the Farm Security Administration, he put his expert knowledge of cotton sharecropping and tenancy to excellent use. As one of the trustees of the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, along with Edwin Embree and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, he induced a great many Americans to share his view that the so-called "Negro problem" was largely a labor problem. "As long as the Negro is loafing and singing in Beale Street, Memphis, or fishing his livelihood out of the Louisiana bayous," he once said, "he is not considered a problem. It is when he goes to work in competition with white men that resentment grows." A wise, shrewd, kindly person was "Doctor Will."

• The State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Washington —Mrs. Pearl A. Wanamaker—has revoked the suspension of Mrs. Margaret Jean Schuddakopf's license as a teacher. Mrs. Schuddakopf, a Tacoma teacher, had invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (see The Nation, January 22, 1955). In announcing her ruling, Mrs. Wanamaker said: "Our Constitution guarantees to all people certain rights, among which is the right exercised by Mrs. Schuddakopf. The exercise of that right cannot be denied, lest the denial itself be a violation of the Constitution."

• Major General Byron E. Gates, former commander of Chanute Air Force Base, has been given a mild reprimand by the Air Training Command and fined $500 for promoting business for a private insurance firm on the post, for which he received $7,000 in commissions. As though to ease this gentle rebuke, the Air Training Command allowed the General $2,940 by way of compensation for the six months during which the inquiry was under way (he had previously retired). What would have happened if a lesser officer pocketed $7,000 for "wrongly using his rank, position and influence" in this fashion?

• Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia are reported to have offered Jordan $280,000,000 in economic aid over a ten-year period to balance its books should the British withdraw an annual subvention of $30,000,000. It seems fairly clear that the bulk of the proffered loan would have to come from Saudi Arabia or, to be more realistic, from Aramco, Anglo-American oil company that pays the King of Saudi Arabia royalties of approximately $200,000,000 annually.

• The President's message on the budget inspired some choice items, including the Wall Street Journal's reference to the fact that the army's bankroll is so fat it hasn't had to ask Congress for new appropriations to buy new weapons and major equipment since the 1954 fiscal year. "We got fat during the Korean War when money was easy to get," Pentagon officials explained. As of November, the army had $4 billion in its kitty.

• For the first time since 1913, the Philippines and this country will start applying tariffs to each other's goods under the terms of an agreement made in 1946 and revised in 1955. The key provisions became effective on January 1. Although the special advantage enjoyed by American exporters will not be entirely lost until 1974, the islands can no longer be regarded as one of our private trade preserves. One result may be to increase American investment in firms and industries located in the Philippines. The American share of the Philippine import bill—currently about 68 per cent of $425 million annually—may now drop and the Japanese and European share increase. C. McW.

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Martin Solow, Assistant to the Publisher

Staff Contributors: W. Macmahon Ball, Carolus, Maxwell Geismar, Keith Hutchison, Harvey O'Connor, Andrew Roth, Howard K. Smith, Alexander Wertn, H. H. Wilson.

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STEVENSON'S BANDWAGON

Should Liberals Climb Aboard?

TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S rather rueful comment that it is easier to make decisions than to know which way one's duty lies, thoughtful citizens will say "amen." If the path of duty were always clear, the decisions would come easily enough. The President will run again only if he feels that it is his duty to run. He is not the kind of man who could decide an issue of this importance in terms of personal preference or party advantage. But what *is* his duty? And what is the American people's? Knowing of his physical condition, do we want him to run and, if he ran, what weight should we give to the factor of his health?

If the President's health were not an issue, there can be little doubt that most liberals would rather see him nominated than any "available" Republican mentioned to date. After all, liberal sentiment had much to do with bringing the President forward as a candidate; it had a great deal to do with his selection over Senator Taft at Chicago in 1952. But just as he feels that he does not know all the factors that might influence his decision, so American liberals will want to withhold any unalterable commitments to any candidate until all the facts are in. Traditionalists and opportunists find it easy to make commitments, even when they lack the facts necessary for an intelligent decision. They simply honor their instinctive preference, traditional loyalties, or compulsive ambitions. But this can never be the liberal's basis of decision.

By hypothesis, the liberal is a relatively disinterested, intelligent, forward-looking voter who does his own thinking, and tries to decide issues on the merits. Since he belongs to a permanent political minority, he must make the best possible use of what influence he possesses. Seldom consulted in advance, he must exercise his preference somewhat belatedly. He is not the kind of voter who is primarily concerned with finding a government job or acquiring influence in Washington. It is precisely for this reason that he has acquired an influence that is out of relation to his numbers. In brief, the liberal or independent vote is courted *because* it is uncommitted. Liberals are not organized effectively enough so that they can bargain directly; their power lies in their independence. The moment they are committed, their influence declines. Opportunists, on the other hand, function in an entirely different fashion. For the way to acquire a payoff position in politics is to pick a winner and then commit yourself to him as far in advance of the election as possible. Everything else being equal, the earlier this commitment, the greater will be the obligation it creates. (Who has forgotten the consideration long shown those Democrats who were for Roosevelt "before 1932"?) But liberals don't behave in this fashion since what they seek is not favors but the best possible selections in both parties.

THIS YEAR liberals should be particularly wary of premature commitments. We face a novel situation. On many issues—foreign economic aid, civil liberties, civil rights, the size and nature of the military establishment, foreign policy—each party is itself sharply divided. On any number of major issues, the two parties either take basically the same position or the division within each is as sharp, or even sharper, than the inter-party differences. Unfortunately, too, the right wings of both parties have the upper hand over their respective left wings in Congress and the two right wings are in open alliance on some issues. Where significant differences exist, as on the "giveaways," public power, conservation and similar matters liberals must still make their selections on an individual basis since, like other citizens, they are primarily preoccupied with more urgent issues which bear directly on the question of war or peace. One well-placed H-bomb would put all the publicly-owned power dams in the Pacific Northwest out of operation for a long time. From a long-range point of view, one may reasonably believe that the Democratic Party offers much better possibilities as an instrument for liberal political action than the Republican, but considerations of this general nature cannot be very helpful in making today's decisions.

For liberals to turn opportunistic is not the way to realign American political parties; it is the way to one-party government. In England the tendency to one-party government goes by the name of Butskellism. Butskellism has its origin, as Paul Johnson pointed out in a recent issue of *The New Statesman,* in the circumstance that the rapid rise of defense expenditures has narrowed "the area of choice in economic policy and consequently the area of disagreement." In other words, the distance between Mr. Butler, the Tory, and Mr.

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Gaitskell, the Laborite, has shrunk to the degree that it seems insignificant to many independent voters. Butskellism has been disastrous to the Labor Party and the factors that produced it—a big-arms economy coupled with welfare measures—and could be equally disastrous to the liberal potential of the Democratic Party. "An ultra-conservative" Republican, commenting on the President's State of the Union message, is quoted by *Business Week* as saying: "Well, we've finally achieved a one-party government." Of course we haven't, yet, but a variation of Butskellism may be noted in Washington.

Thus the independent voter (read liberal voter) must be concerned this year not so much with platforms or party records or preferences for this candidate or that. The formula which should guide his thinking should be: which candidate can most effectively and skilfully mobilize the best elements in his party and the country behind a program that will forward the search for peace in the world and the continued well-being of this country? In one sense, this is like saying: which of the various "moderate" Democrats and Republicans—the only avowed radicals in either party are today of the right-wing variety—can best contain the right-wingers to the end that the terribly urgent international issues with which American policy-makers must cope can be handled with dispatch and maximum intelligence?

BUT THE question has even a broader reference. The next President, more perhaps than any of his predecessors, must be able not merely to keep American leadership from falling into the hands of obstructionists and chauvinists: he must also be able to win and enlist a direct measure of world cooperation in the interest of peace, world development and the strengthening of the United Nations. This consideration is of major importance since we are now at a turning point which could lead to real peace, but which, in any case, requires new policies to meet a new world situation. What is needed is intelligence and good will coupled with effective political leadership—the ability to wield political power. The balance of forces within the country is not so preponderantly on the side of the angels that we can tolerate much knight errantry; effective political leadership on the great issues must appeal to the best elements in both parties.

In this situation liberals must consider many factors. Even if they were agreed that Mr. Stevenson should be the Democratic nominee, they should not ignore the opportunity, which premature endorsement of his candidacy might foreclose, of influencing the Republican selection either for President or Vice President. At this time no one can even list the available Republicans in the event the President decides not to run. Nor, if he decides to run, do we know who his running mate will be. Many combinations have been suggested and none can be ruled out. There are no "front-runners," moreover, for the Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination, although the woods from Maine to California are full of hopefuls. A more important consideration is this: How can liberals persuade Mr. Stevenson to be less "moderate" on domestic issues and perhaps a bit more moderate on foreign-policy issues if he is uncritically and permanently endorsed? And why not encourage some of the other contenders for the Democratic nomination to compete with him for liberal support?

This is not an argument based on expediency. For liberals to commit themselves before they have knowledge of all the facts necessary to an intelligent decision is to betray the basic premise of liberal political action. Liberal voters, like the editors of liberal publications, could reach a decision about this year's election easily enough if they had answers to key questions: Will the President run? If not, will Chief Justice Warren yield to a draft? Will the Republicans shelve Mr. Nixon? Will the "big-arms" proponents in the Democratic Party, Senator Symington and others, write the arms program for the party? Will the Dixiecrats force the Democrats to compromise the civil rights-civil liberties issue? These are only a few of the questions to which liberals need answers before they commit themselves in this election.

Eden in Washington

Washington

SIR ANTHONY EDEN'S talks with President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles next week will offer opportunity for some brisk Anglo-American bargaining, with the aim of showing a common American-British policy for the Middle East. That won't be easy. But the sudden intrusion of Soviet power into the region is forcing the U. S. and Britain to submerge their differences. The threat of an Arab-Israel war further impels Washington and London toward a single course. There are reports that after their conversations, the President and Eden will invite the French to join in renewing the 1950 tripower declaration in a strengthened form. This is the proclamation pledging the three Western Allies to help the victim of aggression if either Israel or the Arabs attack across existing borders.

Assuming that they produce a common platform, the President, Eden, Dulles and British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd face an even tougher task. They must discover ways to persuade the Arab nations and the Jewish state to accept Anglo-American terms for a peace settlement. It will have to be a negotiated rather than an imposed agreement, if any.

Israel has many powerful friends in America who see a major threat in the Arabs' desire to exterminate Israel and in the British plan to amputate a slice of Israel's territory and offer it to the Arabs. The Arab nations have even stronger means for resisting Anglo-American pressure. They are in full revolt against foreign, especially Western domination. Russia is standing in the wings and occasionally moving on stage to proffer arms and economic support. The Arab rulers know their vast oil resources are essential to the West.

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More recently the West's stake in the area has been increased by acquisition of strategic air bases.

As usual, the British are following a decidedly more pro-Arab line than the United States. In London earlier this month, Britain's Middle Eastern envoys urged Eden and Lloyd to be even more understanding of Arab emotions and aspirations. Opinions differ as to whether those views will prevail in the Eisenhower-Eden conference. U. S. diplomats say the President and Dulles will fully assert America's new leadership. However, it is also being said that the pro-Israel forces in America, particularly potent in an election year, are for the first time being offset by anti-communism. Too much show of friendship for Israel, runs the argument, will push the Arabs closer to the Soviet camp. Furthermore, the British are coming to Washington with a plan while the U. S. lacks a formula, and this could give Eden an advantage in the negotiations.

ONE version attributes to Eden a scheme whereby Israel would give Egypt a substantial piece of the Negev, thus enabling Egypt and Jordan to establish a common border; in return, Egypt would cede the Gaza strip to Israel, but with it some 200,000 Arab refugees whom Israel would be asked to absorb. The United States is opposed to seeking sizeable territorial concessions from Israel. It is rumored, though, that Dulles favors Israel's grant of a corridor through the Negev, linking Egypt and Jordan. Israel has made clear it would reject the milder American notion as well as the more ruthless British concept. Eden may argue that the Arab chiefs, especially Egyptian Premier Nasser, might be won over if they are granted a prestige success in the form of territorial contiguity between Egypt and Jordan.

Eden will definitely ask American support for restraining Saudi Arabia. That country is the headquarters of the U. S. Strategic Air Command in the area and the home of Aramco, the Arabian-American Oil Company, which pays Saudi Arabia fabulous royalties of some $250 million yearly, a reported $700 million of it in advance. Some of this money has been used to finance nationalist and anti-Western movements in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Egypt is supplying the political drive and Saudi Arabia the funds in the crusade against the Baghdad pact. Yet Mr. Eisenhower and Sir Anthony are likely to agree that a sturdy injection of economic aid into the Baghdad pact is needed to salvage that largely discredited paper structure.

In return for giving Britain some backing concerning Saudi Arabia and contributing the bulk of funds for Middle East development, the U. S. may expect Eden to shelve his suggestions for a shift in policy toward Communist China. Eden intends to press for an easing of trade restrictions against China. The British Prime Minister has realism on his side here. Enforcement of much more rigid limitations against the Chinese than against the Soviet and satellite markets has become nonsense. It may cost China little more and take a bit longer to import "embargoed" goods through its Communist allies, but the goods reach China just the same.

President Eisenhower's farm message to Congress played into Eden's hands on this issue. In the message, the President proposed a reversal of U. S. policy against selling surplus stocks to Communist countries. The British explain that food and farm produce are of strategic value—especially in the case of vegetable oils. A behind-the-scenes hassle is going on in the Administration on this subject, with the Defense Department opposing all trade with mainland China and the State Department privately admitting that controls are ineffectual and not worth sustaining at the risk of alienating our allies. On the other hand, the Administration is extremely reluctant to relinquish this bargaining coin in the midst of the stalemated U. S.-Red China negotiations in Geneva. Some of the President's advisers are suggesting he urge Eden to put this request aside.

Eden is likely to appeal again to Mr. Eisenhower to try to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to remove his troops from the Quemoy and Matsu islands. The British argue that a Chinese Communist attack would gravely endanger the 170,000 Nationalist soldiers garrisoned there and that their withdrawal would dispel a source of major war peril. President Eisenhower is unlikely to invite another "No" from Formosa after the rebuff he suffered from Chiang last month on the U. N. membership issue.

Vindication for William Taylor

William Henry Taylor, an employee of the International Monetary Fund, has finally won unequivocal clearance on charges of possible disloyalty and espionage which stemmed originally from testimony given by Elizabeth Bentley, a highly-prized "testifier" for various congressional committees and the Department of Justice. On January 5 the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board, reversing an earlier decision, ruled that on the basis of all the evidence submitted to it a reasonable doubt of Mr. Taylor's loyalty does not exist. Thus ends, one may hope, another cruel and terrifying loyalty ordeal.

The board's ruling completely discredits the testimony given by Miss Bentley in this and other proceedings. In sworn testimony before a congressional committee, she referred to Taylor as "another Communist Party member in the Treasury who paid his dues and was a member of the Silvermaster group"—testimony which Mr. Taylor has categorically denied not once but several times. If this testimony is true, then the loyalty board's ruling cannot be sustained; if it is false, then the government should apologize to Mr. Taylor, drop any pending charges or proceedings against other persons based on Miss Bentley's testimony, and cease using her as a witness for any purpose. In particular, Mr. Brownell and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, both of whom have vouched for Miss Bentley's credibility as a witness, should publicly disavow the serious allegations which they have made in reliance on her testimony.

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NEW CIVIL-RIGHTS BLOC

A Bipartisan Development . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

BY ANY fair test, civil-rights legislation should be at the top of both parties' "must lists" instead of near the bottom. This is not only because the Deep South's reaction to the Negro's challenge has got out of hand, causing at least five lynchings in seven months. It is also because here we have a major social revolution, the success of which is essential for our own domestic health as well as for our prestige abroad. Unfortunately, while both parties have acclaimed this revolution, neither wants to face up to its consequences. Since the Democrats are even less prepared for it than the Republicans—the Democratic Party faces a serious split on the issue—the Republicans can safely pass the buck to them. That is what the President is expected to do in his forthcoming civil-rights message, which will recommend some protective measures now rather than postponing all such legislation until after the elections, as was suggested in his State of the Union message.

That there is any hope at all in this anarchic area is due almost wholly to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has been successfully fighting impossible battles for forty-six years. But for its self-styled "militant" policy, which contrasts so sharply with the current "moderation" of its Democratic friends, almost certainly school-desegregation petitions would never have been filed in the nine states of the Black Belt—certainly not in Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi. The N. A. A. C. P. could have survived on easier triumphs in the eight border states, where in fact desegregation has already begun. In the eighteen months since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, many of the signers of the petitions to school boards have been forced by Citizens Councils, acting through boycotts or violence, to withdraw their signatures and also their N. A. A. C. P. affiliation.

On December 28, 1955, the Citizens Councils of Mississippi were united with similar groups elsewhere in the South at a Memphis meeting dominated by Senator Eastland, but also featuring professional race-haters Merwin K. Hart and Dr. Edward A. Rumely. In view of this ominous development there is now a very real question as to how long the N. A. A. C. P. can hold its Deep South salient without more federal aid. Attorney General Brownell has sent F. B. I. agents to investigate two Mississippi murder cases involving Negroes voting in Democratic primaries. No prosecutions of murder suspects, much less convictions, are expected, however. This is because of a court ruling that the F. B. I. must prove not merely murder, but murder with the specific intent of depriving the victim of a constitutional right. To strengthen the Attorney General's hand in such cases, also to give him jurisdiction in cases like the Emmett Till lynching, the N. A. A. C. P. is now advocating old civil-rights bills that the Democrats have vainly debated for years. To sugar-coat the pill somewhat, the organization has quietly dropped the F. E. P. C. proposals, though at the same time it is demanding that Senator Eastland be expelled from the Senate because of what is described as his "improper" election.

The N. A. A. C. P.'s 1956 legislative program was unveiled last month at nationwide local meetings with many Congressmen present as auditors rather than as speakers. The key features are supported by a close-knit but burgeoning bipartisan bloc in the House led by Democratic Adam C. Powell of New York and Republican Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania. In the Senate, two liberal Democrats have declared for it, Lehman of New York and Douglas of Illinois, but most of their colleagues, like Harley Kilgore of West Virginia, chairman of the crucial Senate Judiciary Committee, are restrained by Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson.

Ironically, while the Republican Congressional leaders now pay heed to the N. A. A. C. P., Johnson is inclined to ignore it. The Democrats, he believes, can hold the Negro vote merely by supporting the proposed constitutional amendment against the poll tax, which the N. A. A. C. P. regards as evasive and irrelevant. By contrast, House Republican Leader Martin appears to be almost converted to the N. A. A. C. P. position—at least on proposed amendments that would deny federal aid for new school buildings in Jim Crow communities. To appreciate how far the Republican leadership has swung over, one has only to recall the ruckus last June when amendments that might have ended discrimination in Jim Crow National Guard units were branded by President Eisenhower as obstructive, if not dangerous to national security.

THUS, the success of civil-rights legislation in this critical year will depend largely on the ability of liberal Democrats to defy their Southern leaders and to join in a new bipartisan coalition. If this is done, and the bills passed, Southern hatred will not necessarily be slackened. But instead of being vented on isolated Negro preachers, it would be contained in intra-party squabbling. That this would hurt Democratic chances for 1956 does not necessarily follow, although almost certainly the nomination of the moderate Adlai Stevenson, the liberal's current favorite, would be jeopardized. In 1948, it will be recalled, President Truman was both nominated and elected on a forthright civil-rights platform, despite Southern incriminations. Now, the Eisenhower Administration has almost completed the Truman program for ending job discrimination in government.

The NATION

EDGAR KEMLER covers Washington for The Nation.

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NATO'S SHAKY BASTION

Which Way Turkey? . . *by Geoffrey Lewis*

TURKEY'S FINANCIAL and political troubles have formed the subject of several recent articles in the British and American press. Turkey is faced with a dangerous shortage of foreign currency, due in part to the over-importing of Western luxuries and to a happy-go-lucky program of grandiose industrial expansion at a time when its factories are short of spare parts and raw materials. The cost of living is mounting, and the state has been staving off creditors by one dubious financial expedient after another. These facts bear significantly upon Ankara's place in the Western alliance.

It may seem odd that the Democrat Party, currently ruling in Turkey, should have been guilty of overspending on new factories when one of its chief complaints against the opposition Republicans was the latter's obsession with industrialization, to the neglect of agriculture. But one of the party's principles, laid down in its 1946 program, is to encourage such industries as use home-produced raw materials. The mistake was to suppose that if one sugar or textile factory is a good thing, a dozen are twelve times as good. In 1954, Turkey used 1,600,000 tons of cement, about a quarter of which was home-produced. The government set up a corporation to build more cement factories. Three were due to go into production by the end of 1955, raising the total output to 1,000,000 tons. Another eighteen were planned to raise output to almost 3,000,000 tons, and to cost 263,000,000 lira. Similarly extravagant plans were made for sugar, textile factories and hydroelectric installations.

The crop failure of 1954 has been blamed for much of Turkey's troubles. The run of good harvests which occurred in 1951-53 was unprecedented in living memory. To congratulate oneself on so rare a sign of divine approval is one thing; to bank on its continuance, as the Democrats did in preparing the 1954 budget, is quite another.

Nevertheless, what triggered off Turkey's recent Cabinet crisis was not so much the country's serious economic position as the government's insistence that the high cost of living was a sign of prosperity. Public criticism of this absurd view was hampered by the Press Law of 1954, under which some twenty journalists had been imprisoned and several newspapers suspended from publication. The law imposes a sentence of up to four-and-a-half years' imprisonment and a fine of up to 15,000 lira for printing an attack on the honor or reputation of the holder of an official position, for anything done in the exercise of his office. The right to prove the truth of one's allegations is denied.

For a while the courts applied the strict letter of the law, but a judgment given in November, 1955, showed that judges were beginning to concern themselves more with justice than with statutes. In this instance a government suit against *Akis*, a news weekly, was dismissed.

In the beginning of October, thirteen Democrat deputies signed a proposal for an amendment to the law that would give accused persons the "right of proof," that is, a chance to bring evidence justifying their allegations. The general administrative committee of the party decided to bring them, and six more deputies who had joined them, before the party's disciplinary tribunal, "for making the 'right of proof' a pretext for breaking party solidarity." The leader of the dissidents, Fevzi Lufti Karaosmanoglu, a former Minister of the Interior and an inveterate opponent of the dictatorial methods of the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, retorted with a letter to Menderes, accusing him of subordinating the interests of the country to personal ambition.

The party congress, which assembled October 15, expelled nine of the nineteen from the party, and the rest resigned in sympathy.

A wave of additional resignations began from local Democrat organizations all over the country. Municipal elections, held on November 13, dealt the party a further blow. Independent anti-government candidates gained all the seats in eight of the sixty-six *vilayets*, while two other *vilayets* went entirely to the liberal-led Peasants' Party, which has no representation in the Assembly. The rebels took courage from the election results and decided to form a new *Hurriyet Partisi*, Freedom Party, dedicated to the development of genuinely democratic institutions.

On November 29, 1955, after a stormy meeting of Democrat deputies, the Cabinet resigned. The first target of their wrath was Hasan Polatkan, Minister of Finance, not only for the evident failure of his policy but because his name had been linked with that of a relative of his, a merchant, in allegations of malpractice. What turned the feeling of the meeting against Premier Menderes was his own bland refusal to resign: he took shelter behind Article 46 of the Constitution, which makes each minister "individually responsible for executive matters within the scope of his authority and for . . . the general character of his policy." Since his constant interference not only in policy but even in the day-to-day running of the various ministries was common knowledge, he won little sympathy.

That same night President Bayar asked Menderes to form a new Cabinet. Not till December 9 was his list of ministers announced, half of the eighteen being new. On December 16 the Assembly gave him a vote of confidence by 398 to 58. The latter figure comprised the votes of all of the opposition parties. Some fifty Democrats abstained.

The new government's policy makes huge concessions to opposi-

GEOFFREY LEWIS, author of Turkey, *is senior lecturer in Islamic studies at Oxford University.*

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tion opinion: the Press Law is to be amended to give those accused of libel the "right of proof," there is to be a thorough-going campaign against official corruption (almost all of which seems to have been on the part not of civil servants but of ministers), and no new economic development projects are to be undertaken for the time being.

It remains to be seen how well Menderes has learned his lesson. Since he is as clever as he is ambitious, we may expect to see him remain in control for the lifetime of the present Assembly. For the sake of solidarity in the anti-Communist camp, it is probably best that Menderes continue in office for the next year or so: in consequence of his administration's stupid delay in quelling the September anti-Greek riots he will probably show great forbearance in handling his country's relations with Athens.

It is remarkable that criticism of Menderes was not more bitter in view of his failure in financial negotiations with the United States. Washington's refusal, last June, of his request for a $300,000,000 loan unless there were adequate safeguards to ensure that the money was well spent, was greeted in the Turkish press with disappointment sometimes verging on defiance.

THE VALUE of the lira is falling every day. In mid-1953 the pound sterling, officially worth TL 7.8, sold for TL 12 on the black market. By the end of 1955, the price was TL 25. Even if the new economies which a chastened Menderes is making are effective, government circles in Turkey are convinced that the loan is vital. There seem to be no more than three possibilities. The first is to take the loan on America's terms; but in view of the Turks' chronic sensitivity about being dictated to by foreigners, this can probably be ruled out. The second is to persuade America to grant the loan without insisting on a say in the spending of it. With Franco in mind, some think that the State Department, when it has to choose, prefers politically stable allies to democratic allies. The possibility has been canvassed in the Turkish press that the U. S. has a special interest in ensuring Menderes' survival as premier and might grant the loan on Turkey's terms to bolster his damaged prestige. This seems unlikely. Any suggestion that an unwanted government must be supported because a foreign power wished it to remain in office would bring about its immediate overthrow, loan or no loan. The same would result if America were to offer the loan on condition of Turkey's withdrawing opposition to the cession of Cyprus to Greece. This is a subject on which the Turkish people feel as keenly as the politicians: no government which was a party to such a deal would last five minutes.

And the third possibility?

America's rejection of Turkey's request proves the truth of either or both of the following propositions: (a) that Washington thinks the danger of war has moved so far into the future that there is plenty of time to conciliate Turkey if necessary; (b) that in spite of all the cliches about eastern bastions, the Turkish alliance is not regarded as indispensable to Western security.

The implication is that the purpose of the "northern tier" (Turkey-Iraq-Pakistan) is not military but political (*cf.* Jon Kimche in *The Nation*, November 19, 1955). The probable loss of Suez as a Western base does not greatly affect the situation. In view of the great ranges of modern aircraft, if Turkey is in the war the NATO bases there would be no more or less vulnerable than the Canal Zone. If Turkey is not, there is always Cyprus. So we may extrapolate thus: the refusal of the American loan indicates that Washington does not really care about Turkey's active military assistance and is prepared to back the Greek claim to Cyprus in order to ensure a safe base in the Eastern Mediterranean.

If such ideas as these gain further currency in Turkey, the effect will be momentous. The fierce national pride of the Turk is canalized into pride in his army. The suggestion that the Americans think they can manage without it would be a blow from which Turkey's friendship for the West would never recover.

Hence the third possibility is that Turkey gets the loan from Russia.

Hostility to Russia is a Turkish institution which is older than the United States. Nevertheless, the Turks have before them the example of Colonel Nasser, who has accepted arms from the Czechs. Russia has offered him $200,000,000 for the Aswan Dam, and the West is consequently falling over itself to press on him. Nasser has said that he will make no concessions to communism in Egypt. Why should not the Turks get a loan from Russia on a purely commercial basis?

To think that the Turkish people could not be persuaded of the necessity of such a course is to underestimate the power of the press. The Russians, for their part, would surely not be slow to make the offer, once the ground has been prepared. On December 29, 1955, in his report to the Supreme Soviet, Khruschev mentioned the friendly relations that had formerly existed between the U. S. S. R. and Turkey, relations for whose deterioration Turkey was not solely to blame. "There were out-of-place statements on our side, too."

OF COURSE, if the Turks affected to be swayed by such blandishments and negotiated a Russian loan, they would not consider themselves bound to side with Russia and would doubtless repudiate any suggestion that they were abandoning the Western alliance. But it should be remembered that Turkey has suffered a great deal for its loyalty to the West: it has lost the respect of many of its Arab neighbours, who regard Ankara as a parish, a today of the imperialists. This was clearly demonstrated just before Christmas, 1955, when rioting took place in the cities of Jordan against the British attempts to get Jordan into the Baghdad Pact. The American and Turkish consulates in Arab Jerusalem were attacked; at the latter there was considerable damage, the Turkish flag was torn down and the Turkish consul was forced to take refuge across the Israel border.

A month previously, President Bayar had attempted to redeem Turkey in Arab eyes and to pave the way for Jordan's accession to the pact by an after-dinner speech to the Arab Legion, in which he said: "If the army of our Jordanian brethren should ever be faced with an unjust aggression, it will not be surprising if on that day the Turkish army is seen by its side." This seems to have deceived nobody; constitutionally the President has no power to make alliances or to declare war, and both Turkish policy and Turkish public opinion are against being drawn into the Arab-Israel dispute.

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THE DELAYED U-BOMB

And The N. Y. Times . . . *by Gene Marine*

THE NEW YORK *Times* occupies a unique place among American newspapers. Whatever their political convictions, perceptive readers rely upon it for balanced and honest reporting. Yet there are occasions when this august institution is not quite the rock of reliability it purports to be. A case in point is the manner in which the *Times* has covered the story of the development of nuclear weapons in this country, especially during the last year. What makes this not only an interesting case, but a bizarre one, is the unusual reputation enjoyed by the *Times's* famous science writer, William L. Laurence, the only reporter whom the government permitted to cover "from the inside" the whole of the Manhattan Project which culminated in the explosion of the Bikini bomb in March, 1954.

Mr. Laurence, and almost everyone else in the world within reach of a newspaper, radio or TV set, accepted the Bikini blast as that of an H-bomb. Our story properly begins with the fact that months after the blast, in the November, 1954, and February, 1955, issues of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* there appeared articles by Dr. Ralph Lapp which proved conclusively that what had been exploded at Bikini was not an H-bomb at all, but something infinitely more deadly—the so-called U-bomb. Put quite simply, the Bikini missile consisted of an H-bomb surrounded by a jacket of cheap, plentiful and *previously non-fissionable* uranium-238. The H-bomb merely served to trigger the fission of the uranium-238.

Now the difference between an H- and a U-bomb is not merely a difference in mathematical and engineering formulae; there is, or could be, a difference of a million casualties or more. It isn't only that the blast effect of the Bikini explosion was bigger than any ever before achieved by man. Of even greater significance is the question of radioactive fallout, about which mankind has been hearing so much of late—and none of it good—from scientists. Few people know that the true H-bomb, in which the final result is the fusion of hydrogen atoms, creates very little radioactivity. *The dangerous fallout as we know it today, and the fallout that rained death on the* Fukuryu-Maru *eighty miles east of Bikini in 1954, is the result of the fission of uranium-238.*

DR. LAPP reached his conclusions concerning the nature of the Bikini explosion without recourse to any restricted information. His was an adventure in pure scientific research. In his February, 1955, article he presented charts and graphs which made it possible for any scientist to deduce the truth about the Bikini bomb. His work, and the unhappy fact that a boatload of Japanese fishermen presented living—and dead—evidence of what had occurred, forced the Atomic Energy Commission to admit that whatever kind of bomb it was that shook the air above Bikini, it *did* produce a fallout of lethal effect. (The fallout area for Bikini has been officially put at 7,000 square miles, but some sources estimate a possible 100,000 square miles for larger models of the same weapon.) But still the A. E. C. withheld more knowledge than it gave out.

Meanwhile Washington newsmen were getting curious—and nosey. In March, 1955, one of them asked the President outright whether the bomb exploded a year before had in fact been a U-bomb. The President refused to answer, referring the question to Admiral Strauss, chairman of the A. E. C., who also refused to answer. But by now the lid was off. Ed Diamond of International News Service wrote the story of the U-bomb after a thorough job of research on Japanese scientists' reports on the bomb's effects. The Washington *Post* broke the story. *Time* broke the story. The American Broadcasting Company broke the story. But the New York *Times,* known for printing "All the News That's Fit to Print," was completely silent. Among newsmen, there were a good many who wondered why. One possible explanation offered itself. The story should have been the property of the *Times's* William L. Laurence, widely regarded as the patriarch of American newsmen in the science field. But Laurence, according to reports, is on friendly terms with Admiral Strauss, and Strauss was seemingly determined, in the face of overwhelming scientific evidence, to go on insisting that no such thing as the U-bomb exists. As late as April, 1955, Mr. Strauss said of the U-bomb: "I have seen some pieces by columnists using that expression, but so far as I am aware, there is no such weapon."

That same April, Senator Mansfield of Montana published in the *Congressional Record* an independent study of his own summarizing the scientific evidence that proved that such a bomb did exist. Still no word from the *Times.* In the May issue of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists,* British physicist J. Rotblat presented the evidence outright, in easy-to-understand terms. He described the "so-called hydrogen bomb [as] in reality a fission-fusion-fission bomb." And on June 3, Dr. Willard Libby, a member of the A. E. C., made a speech at Chicago in which he referred to a nuclear explosion that could release "ten megatons of *fission* energy."

Finally the *Times,* nine days after the Libby speech, ran a story about the U-bomb—a story not by science writer Laurence, but by Washington staff man Anthony Leviero, who had never before given any indication in print that he knew an atom from a peanut-butter sandwich. It was a comprehensive, clear story which gave an excellent description of the U-bomb structure. But why did Le-

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GENE MARINE is a free-lance writer and a frequent contributor to The Nation.

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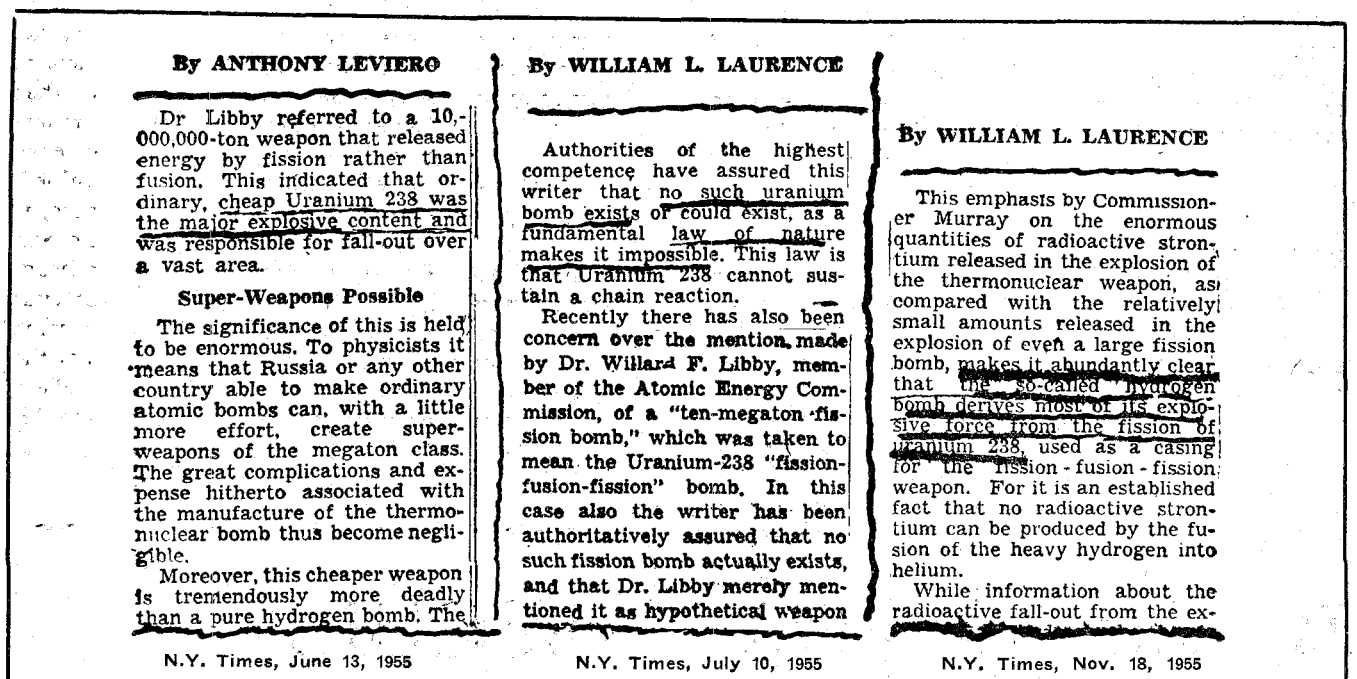

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

Dr Libby referred to a 10,000,000-ton weapon that released energy by fission rather than fusion. This indicated that ordinary, cheap Uranium 238 was the major explosive content and was responsible for fall-out over a vast area.

Super-Weapons Possible

The significance of this is held to be enormous. To physicists it means that Russia or any other country able to make ordinary atomic bombs can, with a little more effort, create super-weapons of the megaton class. The great complications and expense hitherto associated with the manufacture of the thermonuclear bomb thus become negligible.

Moreover, this cheaper weapon is tremendously more deadly than a pure hydrogen bomb. The

N.Y. Times, June 13, 1955

By WILLIAM L. LAURENCE

Authorities of the highest competence have assured this writer that no such uranium bomb exists or could exist, as a fundamental law of nature makes it impossible. This law is that Uranium 238 cannot sustain a chain reaction.

Recently there has also been concern over the mention made by Dr. Willard F. Libby, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, of a "ten-megaton fission bomb," which was taken to mean the Uranium-238 "fission-fusion-fission" bomb. In this case also the writer has been authoritatively assured that no such fission bomb actually exists, and that Dr. Libby merely mentioned it as hypothetical weapon

N.Y. Times, July 10, 1955

By WILLIAM L. LAURENCE

This emphasis by Commissioner Murray on the enormous quantities of radioactive strontium released in the explosion of the thermonuclear weapon, as compared with the relatively small amounts released in the explosion of even a large fission bomb, makes it abundantly clear that the so-called hydrogen bomb derives most of its explosive force from the fission of uranium 238, used as a casing for the fission - fusion - fission weapon. For it is an established fact that no radioactive strontium can be produced by the fusion of the heavy hydrogen into helium.

While information about the radioactive fall-out from the ex-

N.Y. Times, Nov. 18, 1955

On June 13, 1955, Anthony Leviero of the New York Times *reported a speech by Dr. Libby referring to the existence of a bomb of which "cheap" U-238 forms the main explosive content. A month later William L. Laurence, writing in the same paper, reported that such a bomb is "impossible." Four months later Mr. Laurence changed his mind.*

viero write it? Where was Laurence?

It wasn't long before Laurence turned up. Strauss was still denying the U-bomb, but his position was getting more difficult. It was obvious by now that there was no longer justification for secrecy; what one American scientist could find out, working literally with only a pencil, a slide rule and incomplete public data, a whole battery of Russian experts must long since have deduced. From Strauss's point of view, a counterattack seemed to be called for; and, as it happened, a counterattack came, in the *Times*.

On July 10, Laurence, in an article dealing with the manifesto issued by Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein and other scientists, noted that "recently there has been reckless speculation about a so-called U-bomb . . . a contraption described as a fission-fusion-fission bomb." The U-bomb doesn't exist, he wrote, because "a fundamental law of nature makes it impossible . . . U-238 cannot sustain a chain reaction." That last statement is true, as it happens; but—as was carefully explained in Laurence's own *Times* less than a month before—there is no question of U-238's ever sustaining a chain reaction. The U-238 in the bomb is fissioned, not by a reaction inside itself, but by neutrons given off in hydrogen fusion. It's as though you told a friend that you had chopped down a tree with a double-bitted axe, and he were to argue that it's impossible, because trees don't split by themselves. A few paragraphs later, Laurence dealt with the Libby speech by saying that he, Laurence, had been "authoritatively assured" that "no such fission bomb exists," and that Libby was only talking about "a hypothetical weapon to illustrate a point."

Thus, in the earlier passage, Laurence calls the weapon "impossible," blocked by a "fundamental law of nature"; but a few passages later a member of the A. E. C. and a world-renowned scientist himself, speaking to an audience of scientists, is using this fundamentally impossible weapon as a working hypothesis!

William Davidon, research associate in physics at the Institute of Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago, was disturbed enough to write the *Times*, which published his letter on July 31. It read in part:

> Laurence calls "pure fantasy" the speculation that the uranium-237 found in some fallout analysis was produced from uranium-238 by very energetic neutrons. It is not clear what is pure fantasy. The (n, 2n) reaction which produces U-237 is well known; the presence of U-237 in the fallout is known, and U-237 is not found in nature.

Still, it's doubtful whether Davidon's letter went far to counteract the effects of Laurence's piece, which was widely reprinted in other papers, and even inserted in the *Congressional Record*. The *Times* was now in the curious position of having published, during all these months of controversy, two U-bomb stories: one an excellent analysis of the facts about the U-bomb, written by a newsman with no scientific background at all, and the other a completely contradictory story filled with scientific error purporting to "disprove" the U-bomb, written by the widely-known science writer on the *Times* staff.

But the saga is not yet finished. Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, the A. E. C.'s only holdover from the days before the Great Crusade, has been agitating to let the Russians take a good look at one of our bombs—to invite them to our next test series as a "show of force." Despite the opposition to the plan by his A. E. C. colleagues, Murray has been making public speeches urging the adoption of his suggestion.

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Admiral Strauss has been reported as seeking more power over his colleagues on the A. E. C. From his point of view, it might seem as though the time had come for the insistent Murray to get a spanking. The spanking came from Laurence in the *Times* of November 18. Laurence wrote that Murray "has revealed one of the major secrets in making the bomb." The nature of the major secret? The fact that the weapon is actually a fission-fusion-fission bomb! Murray, wrote Laurence, "made it clear that the so-called hydrogen fusion bomb is actually a very large fission bomb." Though this is almost a direct quote from Rotblat's May article, there was no denial this time from Strauss; nor did anyone mention that Laurence himself, a few months earlier, had written that "a fundamental law of nature" rendered such a weapon "impossible."

Laurence's article, basically an attack on Murray, referred to facts about the U-bomb that had been widely known for a year; yet it was reprinted widely under headlines like the one in the San Francisco *Chronicle: "Times* Says AEC Member Revealed H-Bomb Secret!" Laurence went on in his article to explain what the bomb is and how it works—the same explanation that Leviero had given *Times* readers five months before, and which Laurence himself had branded as "impossible." And as an additional ironic note, it might be pointed out that the San Francisco *Chronicle,* so free in headlining Murray as a revealer of vital secrets, had itself revealed the same "secret" some months earlier. For the *Chronicle* had reprinted the Leviero story from the *Times* of June 13, 1955.

BILLIONS FOR INSECURITY

Part III of The Big Guns . . . *by Matthew Josephson*

[This is the concluding section of Mr. Josephson's three-part study of America's new huge military establishment and its impact on our political and economic institutions. The articles have already created so much interest that the editors have decided to reprint them in a single pamphlet. For details see page 77].

THE COUNTRY has been hearing again of the extravagances of our military-procurement bureaus. Last spring the reports of the bipartisan Hoover Commission investigating the executive branch of government were featured in the newspapers under headlines such as: "Billions Wasted in U. S. Surpluses," "Navy Stocks 60 Years Supply of Hamburger." From week to week the press also carried stories that have come out of committees of Congress under headings such as: "Navy Jet Gamble Cost 320 Millions," "Quarter Billion Spent to 'Modernize' 2-Year-Old Planes."

The commission, after much searching, discovered what many people have long suspected: that there are at least 16,000 duplicating jobs in the administrative branches of the Defense Department. As a result of this highly bureaucratic condition, and of the continuation of separate purchasing agencies for the three military services (supposedly unified by law in 1947), there is a pile-up of excessive stocks of every kind, food, clothing and military supplies, at depots scattered throughout the world. In the case of some items in use by all three services, procurement officers have built up reserves sufficient for twenty or thirty years, and in one instance for 128 years! For example, the navy, in its crowded warehouses, possesses supplies of certain uniforms for so long a period ahead that they may be out of fashion before they are needed. In one depot the navy was discovered to have cornered 11,000,000 oyster forks—virtually a world monopoly—purchased during the dark days of World War II, and surely sufficient for the consumption of shellfish delicacies at officers' messes for a whole century to come!

A military-procurement officer confessed to one congressional committee that "there is a squirrel in every army and navy purchasing agent." The instinct to store is inevitable in one who fears that he may at some future date be blamed for not having quite enough of some articles—though never for having too much.

In his recently published memoirs, Truman wrote that in his days as a Senator charged with investigating the defense program, he learned that "army and navy professionals seldom had any idea of the value of money. They did not seem to care what the cost was." General Somervell himself said, before a congressional committee, that in the emergency of war "the last thing I think about is the money cost."

TO BE SURE, all warlike enterprise involves waste, most of all of human life. In this matter of materiel the most serious waste occurs through the swift obsolescence of elaborate and costly war machines. Here, as Truman reported to the Senate during World War II, "money is thrown away with a scoop shovel." A contract may be awarded for several squadrons or wings of heavy bombing planes; within a year or two the whole lot, costing hundreds of millions, may be declared obsolete and thrown on the scrap heap. Former President Herbert Hoover and Secretary of Defense Wilson have expressed hope that—without weakening the military program—more efficient business methods could save us $2 billion annually, or about 5 per cent of the military budget. Yet there are powerful influences at work that make for continued waste, since the very wastefulness of our military institution, America's biggest "consumer," is certainly bound up with the maintenance of our cycle of prosperity.

The good American consumer

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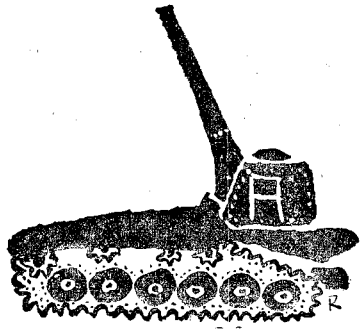
breeds prosperity by the swiftness with which he discards his one- or two-year-old Cadillac, a mink coat, or even last year's blonde, and replaces them with new and improved models. Our Defense Department has done almost as well in the case of the great military-aircraft industry. After the peak period of World War II most aircraft companies lost about 90 per cent of their military business. It has been publicly admitted that the air force, in the immediate postwar period, made efforts to keep the plants of some companies going with orders for aircraft already considered obsolete by experts. Among them was the B-36 bomber, which Admiral Radford publicly denounced as "slow, vulnerable, expensive." Today, since the great build-up of our air force that began in 1950, the major companies are flourishing again, blessed with "cushy" contracts, a gross business volume of over $7 billions, and profits after taxes twice as high as those of World War II.

Many persons often wonder what becomes of the billions of dollars worth of military airplanes which are declared obsolete. After World War II the tourist, driving across Arizona, could see off in the distance a remarkable desert mirage: hundreds of giant military planes left to molder at a dumping ground. Since then, according to reports, the air force has devised a great "guillotine" which is set up at airplane dumps and rapidly reduces the aircraft to scrap metal. The "guillotine" no doubt plays a very important part in our current economic boom.

The cost of military equipment has risen fantastically since World War II. At that time it cost $19 million to outfit an infantry division; today $80 million are needed to pay for added supplies of trucks, artillery, bazookas and a whole variety of new military "hardware." The cost of equipping an armored division has risen five-fold since 1944, and now amounts to $200 million. Approximately two-thirds of the huge $43.6 billion military appropriations for 1953 went mainly for "hardware" produced by American industry, and for major procurement contracts. Some skeptical commentators have referred to these appropriations as "a giant public-works program in military disguise." It has been estimated that such sums, if expended annually, could perhaps raise the standard of living of the ill-nourished two-thirds of the human race—1.5 billion human beings—from a state of semi-starvation to a condition of relative good health within a relatively short time.

THE PAST decade of prosperity and economic growth has brought forth many published encomiums for the American system. We have been patting ourselves on our capitalistic backs with a spirit as self-congratulatory as that of the "eternal-prosperity" season of 1929. We have raised the real earnings of our workers (if not of our farmers); our wealth, our technology, our high standard of living are the wonder and envy of the world. On this theme many writers on political economy, such as J. K. Galbraith, Sumner Schlichter and A. A. Berle all sing in unison. Even former radicals now eulogize the "new capitalism" of America. According to an article in *Fortune* for September, 1952, it is the apostates of New Deal reformism or radicalism who now "hold in awe our business civilization . . . which has exhausted the dreams of its utopian critics." One of this sort wrote recently that he has seen the light at last because "many of the evils I saw [in the 1930's] have been corrected. Our nation is more prosperous than ever before in its history, and prosperity is more widely distributed. . . . How our high standard of living has been brought about and whether it can be maintained are questions to be looked into." But he does not look. Nor do the others in the numerous writings that have appeared lately in honor of our "new era." It is as if the authors are ashamed to mention our $40 billion armament programs.

Yet there is nothing mysterious going on. If one chooses "the right father-in-law" and is endowed with a fine wife, a home, a sound business with profits assured for many years ahead, prosperity is inevitable. It is a decade now since American capital has been wedded to Miss National Defense, whose genial papa, with his star-spangled hat and striped trousers, provides for everything out of a bottomless pocketbook. That the marriage of big business to our military establishment has made for prosperity should surprise no one. Up to 1940 our brilliant industrialists had spent a whole long decade, during the 1930's, in a state of almost complete funk. That American capital should have recovered and grown rich under the economy of the greatest of world wars and the long cold war should be, in itself, no occasion for lavishing praises upon our present-day enterpreneurs for "vim," "vision" and "venture." Indeed, the distinctive thing about the American system is the manner in which, year by year, its resemblance to "free enterprise" is disappearing. Today the system leans increasingly on government paternalism, direct and indirect subsidies and tax remissions so encouraging to capital investments; it is, in short, a state-aided economy dependent in great measure upon the continuance of large public expenditures for arms.



This form of government spending is now thoroughly acceptable and morally justified by the same conservative spokesmen for capital who used to protest so bitterly Roosevelt's extravagance in aiding the unemployed. But can it last? There have been moments of foreboding, as in 1952, when it was seen that the Korean War would soon be brought to an end. "Unfortunately, the possibility of a dramatic reduction in the arms budget cannot be dismissed as an idle bogy," wrote one authoritative commentator, J. K. Galbraith (in the *N. Y. Times Magazine*, June 22, 1952). He added, "Were peace to lead to a general cutback in private investment, while savings for the sake of personal security continued to increase, there could easily be trouble." But the arms budget continued to rise in 1953 and remained upon a high plateau thereafter.

Full production and full employment, stimulated by the military program, have created a great boom in consumers' goods as well as in durable manufactures and building construction. The boom has been

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accompanied by an admittedly dangerous expansion of installment loans and mortgage debt, providing an inflationary pressure which our money and banking authorities struggle to control. Even the most optimistic now report *excess capacity* in some sections of industry. Our economic condition has been defined recently by a financial writer (in the N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*) as that of a person "long accustomed to taking drugs." Proposals are heard more often nowadays of certain peaceful alternatives to our arms program, such as building roads and clearing slums at home, or furnishing far greater economic and technical aid to backward nations abroad. Yet such measures are considered more or less "immoral" by the great interest groups still dominating our body politic. Their abiding hope is still placed in the high plateau of arms expenditures, the "permanent defense cycle" interrupted only by brief intervals of "peace."

TEN YEARS have passed in cold war; more than $300 billion have been spent in those years by the federal government for purposes of national defense and foreign military aid. But have we been made *safe?*

For about five years after the last world war our strategy for national defense depended on our possession of a monopoly of the A-bomb. In order to deliver such missiles our military centered attention upon the development of air power, and particularly of its long-range striking force, the Strategic Air Command (SAC). Indeed both our military strategy and our foreign policy depended almost entirely on preparations for an atomic air *offensive* against the country's one potential enemy whose identity everyone knows.

As the British in former times found the upkeep of a great navy less burdensome politically than that of a standing army, so in the United States it was assumed that our SAC could police the most distant trouble-spots in the world without bringing the heat and dust of battle to too many sons of people with votes. The chairman of the House Military Appropriations Committee said in 1948:

> If there would be another war, which God forbid, we know who it would be with. The air force would decide it in three weeks. While the navy and army would never reach Moscow in three years. . . . If we must spend money, let us spend it for modern weapons to meet changing conditions.

Our air generals had sold the whole country on atomic air power as a "deterrent." We laid out our globe-girdling chain of air bases along the periphery of the Communist world from which even bombers of medium range could deliver atomic bombs to vital points of the potential enemy's territory. We equipped aircraft carriers as "mobile islands" for atomic planes; designed and built intercontinental bombers of 10,000-mile radius which could take off from the United States and return. Thus everything turned upon offensive action, while nothing of consequence was done to defend the air over our homeland. It was urged always that defense against air attack would be, on the one hand, ineffectual, and on the other probably unnecessary—thanks to our power to administer total destruction anywhere with the speed of sound. Field Marshall Montgomery's saying that defense against air attack was "like trying to stop a flood with a picket fence" was often cited by the exponents of strategic air offense.

When our atomic bomb became neither a secret nor a monopoly, we turned to the even more lethal H-bomb, and continued to count upon our supremacy in the air, our superior technology in aircraft.

To defend the skies over our own heads, all over broad America, we did little, at first, but allot a minor portion of our air power to the Continental Defense Command which even today has only about twenty-five wings (some 2,000) of jet-powered interceptor planes, to which may be added several hundred reserve planes of National Guard air units. Informed members of Congress, in touch with military affairs, have repeatedly warned that such a force, even backed by a widespread radar warning net, is wholly inadequate to protect the country. In the last year or two we have extended radar early-warning stations to the sub-arctic zones of Canada and Alaska, set up "Texas islands" off our coasts, and have begun to strengthen ground-to-air defenses through building elaborate guided-missile emplacements—called "Nikes"—near big cities and military centers.

However, recent reports before a House subcommittee by some of our leading scientists in the field of weapons research, such as Dr. A. G. Hill, Dr. Vannevar Bush and President J. R. Killian of M. I. T., reveal that such automatic ground-to-air missiles may be counted upon as only 10 per cent effective. British military experts' opinion of "Nike" and similar guided missiles is even more discouraging and suggests that they are but short-ranged (some thirty to sixty miles) and could not follow attacking supersonic planes very far. There is also the difficulty that much time would elapse between discharges of these missiles—they are not designed for rapid fire. Our radar warning instruments, as of 1953-1954, have also been described by our leading technicians as disappointingly weak and inaccurate in signaling movements of very high-flying, supersonic planes. Extensive, time-consuming improvements are needed in radar instruments, ground-to-air missiles and air-to-air missiles.

DAILY MIRROR, TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1956

A Warning on Excessive Spending

Tells Ike's Fear Of Dictatorship in U.S.

A warning by President Eisenhower that excessive defense spending might wreck the nation's economy and lead to dictatorship was revealed here Monday night by Defense Secretary Wilson.

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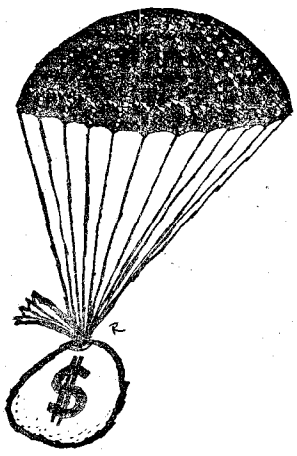
(These are now said to be under way).

The alarming truth that came out of the June, 1945, hearings before the House subcommittee on Research and Development, transcripts of which were released only recently, was that our offense-minded air generals, the "big-bomber" men had actually discouraged efforts to devote more attention, time and money to home defense. (Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, as one of the government's leading scientific advisers up to 1952, was among the strongest advocates of more research and expenditure for the defense of America—which the "big-bomber" generals feared would reduce appropriations for the battleships of the air.) Dr. Vannevar Bush testified in June, 1954, that our ground-to-air defenses of the home sky against possible atomic air attacks are "one or two years behind what they might have been." This is certainly not an overstatement. Both Dr. Bush and Dr. Killian asserted that we could have gone very much further in strengthening defense if more money and effort had been allocated to such studies by our military strategists. We could have raised ground-to-air defense five- or six-fold, with the ultimate hope of reaching 90 per cent of effectiveness, instead of the 10 per cent level we have so far achieved. In the event of some failure of our offensive schemes, should we not have a stoutly held defensive base to fall back on?

Our air force strategists, however, decried the "defense-minded" spirit, as the scientists testified, and stressed always the need for more universally devastating offensive power. General Curtis LeMay, chief of the SAC, has been a "marvellous salesman" for atomic air offense. Our bias in favor of strategic air bombing and for heavy bombers let the Russians get ahead of us, at least until recently. Scientists earnestly pleaded that Congress give more heed to air-defensive preparation—a large undertaking—which would need "several years" of hard work. Our military establishment, now concentrated mainly upon air offense, was like a fighter with a knock-out punch and a glass jaw, Dr. Oppenheimer has said.

In the spring of 1955 news came that the Russians had definitely turned to building a long-range air force, including trans-ocean bombers. On May Day in Moscow foreign military attaches witnessed a most impressive demonstration flight of "two whole squadrons" of jet-powered T-37's (heavy bombers) estimated as equal or possibly superior to our newest and most powerful bomber, the B-52. Such planes, it was calculated, possessed the range and altitude needed to reach any part of the United States, and at supersonic speed. What was more, our own new-model bombers were as yet in scant supply, only a handful or two of them having passed beyond the testing stage. A veritable panic spread in Washington at this news.



Only a few weeks earlier, in April, Secretary of Defense Wilson and the Secretary of the Air Force, Talbott, had assured Congress that we had the air situation with regard to Russia "well in hand." But in early June, after the news from Moscow, air force representatives rushed to Congress with urgent demands for an added $358 million appropriation for speeding up the output of B-52 jet bombers. It was necessary, they then testified, "to reestablish the margin of our air supremacy over Russia." The Russian accomplishments in the last ten years in the field of air weapons, he remarked soberly, was "a phenomenon of military history." It would need three more years before our own B-52s were in full production.

"If we have to *reestablish* the margin of air supremacy over Russia, then we have lost it," declared Representative James Flood, of Pennsylvania, in a speech before the House on June 9, 1955. What had happened to America, the most powerful and most advanced industrial nation, with all our technology and "know-how"—what had happened, Flood asked, that the children of Russia, that benighted and enslaved land, should surpass us in air power?

We had possessed a monopoly of the "secret" atomic bomb and lost that; we had had air supremacy and lost that. We were by no means powerless (especially in view of our ring of air bases adjacent to Russia and China), but we knew that we had no adequate defense as yet for our homeland, or possibly even for its air-power centers, against jet-bomber attack. The idea of a stalemate in technical arms gathered more force in May and June, 1955, than ever before.

THE GREAT turn toward a policy having as its goal some form of coexistence came in the month that followed, at the Geneva Conference of July, 1955. Overshadowing in importance all agreements to agree or disagree was the more or less private exchange of assurances between President Eisenhower and the Soviet rulers that neither country desired to initiate a thermonuclear war against the other.

However, the growing will-to-live of millions of cold-war-weary people seems to collide constantly with the immovable force which is our giant Military Establishment. And behind the establishment's impressive formations of warrior-bureaucrats and experts-in-destruction stand their hardly less powerful allies of America's $40 billion weapons industry, who seem to live mainly for the "permanent defense boom." Are the leaders of our so-called New Capitalism—who make such claims to enlightenment and inventiveness—and our leaders of government, as well, really so blind that they can conceive of no peaceful alternatives with which to sustain the nation's growing capital investment? Yet it is their covert pressure for the prolongation of the cold war that has transformed the great diplomatic instrumentality of our State Department into a wholly military mechanical-computing-brain that knows only how to reason in terms of "massive deterrents" or "brink-of-war" schemes. Here surely is the core of the problem—the danger area—upon which must be focussed an aroused public opinion and all the thought of leaders of opinion who have courage equal to the tasks of peace.

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The Unfinished Civil War

THADDEUS STEVENS. By Ralph Korngold. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT. Last Full Measure. By J. G. Randall and Richard N. Current. Dodd, Mead and Company. $7.50.

THREE YEARS WITH GRANT. As Recalled by War Correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader. Edited by Benjamin P. Thomas. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.75.

By Harry Barnard

IN A seemingly endless and ever widening stream, books on the American Civil War keep coming, and now we have a Civil War Book Club devoted to this literature alone. This is not bad per se, for the Civil War was a great event, one charged with great meaning and lasting consequences for American life, having been in truth what the Beards called it, a "second American Revolution." But from an adult point of view, there are complaints to be registered, one being that too much of this literature narrowly concentrates on the war itself, as a war, or on the personality of Lincoln or his generals if not on Lee and his generals; whereas what is needed by now is more light on the problems the war did not solve and which still trouble the American conscience, in particular the problem of the Negro's status.

Why, we must ask in this connection, is there still a violent spirit of nullification, rebellion and even secessionism in the South over the Negro, in the wake of the Supreme Court anti-segregation decisions, and this disquietingly and disgustingly almost 100 years after the war? At bottom and despite all the other issues—the tariff question, the Pacific railroad, states' rights, etc.—the war was fought over Negro slavery and ought to have resulted by now in a working out of a settlement of the status of the Negro in accord with our professed national ideals. Obviously it hasn't. Certainly Governor Byrnes, Senator Eastland and the men who contrived and condoned the intentional breakdown of law enforcement in the murder of the Till boy in Mississippi do not recognize any such settlement, with precious few leaders of public opinion even in the North raising voices to instruct them otherwise.

If not many of the Civil War books throw light on this matter, being too much concerned with "the blue and the gray" and sentimentalism in general, this is not true of Ralph Korngold's study of the Pennsylvania congressman and intellectual leader of the reconstruction radicals, Thaddeus Stevens. Probably this book will not greatly please many of the Civil War enthusiasts, those "students" of the era whose chief purpose is to "go back to childhood and play with tin soldiers," in the candid admission of Ralph G. Newman, head of Chicago's Abraham Lincoln Book Shop and president of the Civil War Book Club. But Korngold's book is, nonetheless, one of the most important in this field that we have had. It is this precisely because it is not in the least escapist Civil War literature, but a book that deals competently and at times brilliantly with the big problem of why the war left the Negro problem a festering one.

A SOUND interpretation of Stevens, one putting him in his right perspective and correcting the ugly distortion that his forthrightness on the Negro question so passionately caused and still causes in many historians, has been needed. In the *Dictionary of American Biography* sketch of him, Allan Nevins concludes that Stevens was "a sinister figure," though the sketch itself does curiously little to support such a judgment. Claude G. Bowers knifes Stevens through and through and up and down in *The Tragic Era*, the slashing all the more devastating because Bowers' chapter on Stevens is the most brilliant of that truly brilliant piece of writing about reconstruction, so well written that one is made to forget, almost, that it is more polemic than history.

It is a wonder, in truth, that Stevens could be rescued from Bowers' attractively cruel portrait, but I am satisfied that Korngold has done it. He does not slight certain unpleasant aspects of Stevens' personal nature. Indeed, judging from his own evidence here, I think he has been in some instances too hard on Stevens personally, in an effort, no doubt, to forestall the charge of being partial. Nor does he do enough by way of explaining Stevens' personality or how he came to be what he was intellectually. But he does masterfully correct the unfair portrait of Stevens as "sinister" and as a misanthropic "vindictive," motivated in his "reconstruction" views by irrational hatred of the South, by base politics or by a personal life that caused him to be scorned as a "nigger lover." This was the line taken by the most artful and heated professional Southerners while Stevens lived, and historians have done their craft a disservice by keeping up the slander.

More important than setting the picture of Stevens right, is the uncommonly clear beam that Korngold throws on the reconstruction controversy. He shows that a big reason why "reconstruction" was so botched, or left a matter for drifting to this day, was the refusal of the nation to solve the problem of the freed Negro sensibly and affirmatively. Only a few leaders like Stevens wanted a serious solution; most simply wanted a return to the status quo, or as near it as possible, which attitude played into the hands of the former secessionists. This explains why the battle to get the South as a whole to recognize full rights for the Negro has to be fought all over again in this generation.

Usually, Stevens' role is told in relation to President Johnson, in whose impeachment he was a leading figure. But Korngold more wisely, with a resultant greater insight, tells it mainly in relation to Lincoln. The result is more clarity

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HARRY BARNARD is the author of Rutherford B. Hayes and His America *and* Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld. *He will publish a biography of the late Senator James Couzens of Michigan in the spring.*

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about Lincoln's views on slavery and the freed Negro than will be found even in most books about Lincoln, mainly because, as Korngold correctly says, Lincoln's attitude "is generally misunderstood, owing to the fact that, with few exceptions, Lincoln's biographers appear to have been anxious to obscure it rather than clarify it." No truer and more damning criticism of much Lincoln literature could be put.

It is highly interesting, as Korngold develops the picture, that the solutions for the Negro problem that Lincoln and Stevens really felt keenly about were equally extremist. Lincoln, who had to be pushed into issuing the Emancipation Proclamation (Korngold presents some provocative analysis on his real motives for issuing it), did not believe that the Negroes could ever be assimilated into American life as equals. His favorite solution was to remove the Negroes from the scene altogether. He was for having them migrate in a body to some other land, preferably in Central or South America. On the other hand, Stevens' favorite plan, rather than being one of immediate enfranchisement and immediate political power for the blacks (as usually his attitude is put), called for giving the freedmen, along with emancipation, plots of land ("forty acres and a mule") so that they could be economically free and influential. He saw that political freedom lacking an economic base was pretty nearly meaningless. What angered the South, and also frightened many Northerners was Stevens' idea that land for the freed blacks should come from confiscation of the Southern plantations as a war measure.

Neither solution attracted much support, being equally too radical—just as the Morgenthau plan for handling Germany after World War II got little support, for the same reason. Compromise and moderation were the mood of the country after the Civil War (as has been the case with regard to Germany also) and one of the results is that our Negro citizens are still not free, in the large sense, in the South, though because of economics (Stevens' idea) they will surely become so, despite the Byrneses and Eastlands.

I FOUND IT especially profitable to read Korngold's analysis of Lincoln's true, unobscured attitude on the Negro problem just after going through the last of the four-volume biography that Professor Randall had planned, *Lincoln The President*. This volume, though highly praised as a "scholarly" study, in contrast to Carl Sandburg's more impressionistic work no doubt, is pale stuff in comparison with Korngold's penetration and illumination. Perhaps the fault lies in the sad death of Professor Randall, a fine and true scholar, before he himself could complete this volume. As it was, Dr. Randall finished only about half of the manuscript, and the book was finally put together by Richard N. Current. This is seldom satisfactory, and Professor Current undoubtedly labored under handicaps not all his own. Anyway, I think this volume does not add much to understanding either of the Civil War or of Lincoln, except to underscore what adults already should know, and what Richard Hofstadter, among the "scholarly" workers on Lincoln, has done better than any to emphasize in his *American Political Tradition And The Men Who Made It* (besides revealing that a "scholar" in this field need not be a dull writer)—this is that the conventional Lincoln story is largely political mythology. Even so, work like the Randall-Current volume makes one almost prefer the mythology; certainly it will not upset the hold of Sandburg's great work, which in its content is really just as scholarly, with style and artistry added values.

THREE YEARS WITH GRANT is an example of the kind of Civil War literature referred to at the beginning of this review. The Civil War enthusiasts who want to play soldier may eat this up, but it is trivial and often boring. It consists of the recollections of an egocentric newspaper writer set down many years afterward and even less reliable—crotchetiness shows through it all—than his reports at the time. The best parts, mainly relating to Grant's drinking sprees (and so what?), already have been well used by Louis M. Starr in the really important book on the Civil War newspapermen, *Bohemian Brigade,* only recently also published by Knopf. The rest are so unimportant and uninteresting as to explain why Cadwallader's manuscript was left to gather dust for years in the archives of the Illinois State Historical Society. The hullabaloo that has been caused over it by the Civil War brethren merely confirms the main point of this essay.

Paying the Doctor

MEDICAL CARE FOR TOMORROW. By Michael M. Davis. Harper and Brothers. $6.50.

By Winslow Carlton

THE SCIENCE of medicine in the United States has been changing at an accelerating rate, and no one can foresee the end. Coincidentally, the economic and social aspects of medical care have also been changing, although here the effects are less dramatically evident than in medicine itself.

These conditions make the task of the medical economist-sociologist difficult in the extreme, and it is a brave man who undertakes to forecast the character of America's medical care in the future. Michael Davis is well known for his courage. In this long and, for the most part, closely written book, he describes many of the changes that have taken place during the past quarter century, and in the closing hundred pages he projects what he believes are the major trends into the future.

Not all his readers will agree with Dr. Davis' interpretations of the facts, nor, for that matter, with his selection of the most significant trends. His position on health insurance has long been a matter of public record; his office is widely recognized as the G. H. Q. of the forces for national compulsory health insurance. In this book, he seeks to explain and justify his position. It is altogether the most reasonable and best documented exposition of that point of view to appear.

Necessarily, the picture Dr. Davis presents is refracted by his convictions. It seems to this reader (who must admit to having refractive errors of his own) that he unduly

WINSLOW CARLTON, medical-care consultant, is Chairman of the Board of Group Health Insurance and Group Health Dental Insurance.

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depreciates the mass job that has been done over a short space of time, scarcely two decades, by Blue Cross, Blue Shield and the standard insurance companies, and that his account of the part played in the development of health insurance by organized medicine is too blankly negative. His corresponding enthusiasm for the group-practice prepayment plans is flagrantly uncritical, and he tends to sanctify the organized consumer, who is a pretty good fellow, right enough, but on the record not free from all error.

Nevertheless, much of Dr. Davis' analysis of the fundamentals of medical care is impartial and illuminating. Especially enlightening is his description of the normal attitude toward health services:

> A few persons like to be doctored, but most people seek medical care because they want its results, not because they enjoy the process. . . . Medical care is a necessity, but it is an undesired necessity.

This simple statement cuts through yards of cant about the way American families spend their money. The "undesired necessity" is under a grave handicap when competing with desired nonessentials for cash in the average family's pockets. Today, in this country, the gap between all that contemporary medicine can do to improve and maintain health, and the effective demand for health services, is less the product of inability to pay than it is the result of substitute spending. To alter that pattern is one of the principal reasons for health insurance.

For all that he takes a generally dim view of the way things are going. Dr. Davis does not advocate revolution in medical care.

> "What we want," he writes toward the close of the book, "is expedited gradualism, expedited and directed by those who view medicine not merely as a healing, or even a preventive agent, but as one of the chief creative and reconstructive forces which physical, chemical, biological, psychological and social sciences are now marshalling for mankind."

Allowing for his bias, Dr. Davis gives informative accounts of the development of American health insurance, the growth of government medicine and the course of legislation, proposed or enacted, that bears on medical care.

Once Over Crossly

JOURNEY DOWN A RAINBOW. By J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

By William Goyen

"WHY choose America, then?" J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes ask the reader in the preface to their exchange of memoranda on the American Southwest.

"The answer is," they respond to themselves, not waiting for any other, "that if you wish, as we did, to compare some of the earliest men with some of the latest, to make a contrast between two very different ways of life, the American Southwest offers you an opportunity not to be found elsewhere. For there, neighboring states, are New Mexico and Texas. In New Mexico some of the earliest inhabitants of America made their homes; and their successors the prehistoric Basket Maker and Pueblo Indians have left in their mesa-top villages and cliff-dwellings some of the most remarkable remains of any primitive people in the world. . . . Just across the state line from New Mexico, warmed by the same hours of sunshine, may be found the latest men, living in what are for their size the richest and most rapidly expanding cities in our Western world. If our newest urban civilization cannot be found here, then where can it be found?"

To us they come, then, Mr. Priestley and Mrs. Hawkes, to apply to the Southwest their pre-fabricated philosophy of mass *Gestalten:* "Admass" (Advertising enslavement), "Hashadmass" (fake foods), "Nomadmass" (drive-in culture). From hotel and motel they write their sybilline and pharisaic memos to each other.

Mrs. Hawkes does manage to write poetically and sometimes perceptively about Indian life, the Santo Domingo Corn Dance, the basalt caps and the porphyry cliffs under and round which the old ladies who

WILLIAM GOYEN is the author of In a Farther Country, Ghost and Flesh *and* The House of Breath.

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are her hostesses whizz her at seventy miles an hour. On her own she takes her assignment seriously, if sometimes cholerically, and brings to it her knowledge of primitive cultures without theory or gimmick to pound a point. But she has teamed up with a collaborator who wants to make show business and gag out of a subject which he is pretending to examine seriously, as though he did not trust it to carry as subject-matter on its own terms, without hoke. He is constantly in bad humor. The food is dreary and insulting, hash and mash, nothing authentic; there is no wine at lunch in the basement at Southern Methodist University where some professors try to feed him; and how can a man lecture afterwards on The Theatre to "untidy lads and wide-eyed girls" when he has had no wine with a lunch of "wet tuna fish looking like little globs of wet cement, half-drowned salad, and some sort of ice-cream stuff—disgusting?"

The local guides to our two rainbow-travellers try hard to do the right thing by their visitors, but they talk too much, their official cars are too big and too much of a traffic problem, their hotel rooms are noisy; the parties, professors, interviewers, friendly citizen-hosts too stupid, uncivilized, tiresome, shallow. Mr. Priestley, particularly, appears to have had one of the most miserable visits on record. "Remember," he writes to "J. H.," "that I too, as I hope I have proved more than once, love the Southwest, am nearly as deeply devoted to it as I am to my own Britain. These are great regions; they deserve the good life."

Mr. Priestley and Mrs. Hawkes are distempered by the excrescences of what is, nevertheless, an extraordinary social culture. An evaluation of such a curious revelation of folk behavior as they experienced in Texas and New Mexico must take into compass those roots which certainly lie, among other places, at the source of folk needs, in realms of folk lore, and have historical coordinates in the progress of man. It is true our highways are ugly and our automobiles outsized. Still, the authors have wilfully indulged in exaggerating effect, while purporting philosophically to consider cause and to relate it to the peculiar divagations of the human being. Lacking philosophic wit and a sense of life, their observations become harangue and fustian, there is no organic tension to hold them together, no sinew that provides shape and balance. Though Mrs. Hawkes, on the New Mexico side, struggles to balance impulsive bias with informed meditation, and facile jokes with thoughtful rumination, Mr. Priestley, strangling on his side as he flails and thrashes in shallow water, is so noisy that we cannot clearly hear her fainter cries from the deeper currents where she is trawling up some significant catches, nor much care to, under the prevailing exhibitionistic circumstances.

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Art

A. L. Chanin

"CUBISM 1910-1912," at the Sidney Janis Gallery (to February 4) will rank as one of the two or three finest gallery presentations of the entire season. About thirty carefully chosen canvases, borrowed from European as well as American sources, pinpoint the moment of greatest advance—analytical cubism—of the most revolutionary art style in twentieth-century painting.

In less than fifteen feverish years, from 1907 to 1921, cubism broke drastically with representational art. It injected new concepts of form so decisive that they also affected sculpture, architecture and even applied design. Both in its after-effects, such as geometric abstraction, and in its counter-effect (for example, realism has been forced to search for new vitality of form and composition), cubism's chain reaction is still unwearied.

Apollinaire, the poet laureate of modern art, in 1913 saluted the style as "the most audacious that has ever appeared. It has posed the question of what is beautiful in itself. . . ." Kahnweiler, a tyro dealer who sponsored cubist painting as early as 1908, wrote in 1915 that "every talented young artist will have to come to an understanding with cubism. He will have little chance of getting along without it, just as a contemporary of Titian in Italy could never have reverted to the style of Giotto."

History has borne out Kahnweiler rather than Kenyon Cox, an academy painter who complained in 1913 that "the real meaning of this cubist movement is nothing else than the total destruction of the art of painting. . ."; or the bogeyman theory of art history propounded in the best-selling book on modern art in the thirties, that cubism represents "trifles sold to gullible louts by peddlers like [Gertrude] Stein." Some louts; some peddlers!

The early stage of cubism transformed the outer surface of an object; the so-called analytic phase probed far more deeply. In it, outer surface changes gave way to an X-ray-like depth and transparency. Background, middleground and foreground fused simultaneously into one organic unit; forms were taken apart, analyzed and then reassembled into a complex network of lines, planes and space; an increased counter-play of darks and lights added a mysterious drama of depth. At this point the paintings reached the farthest they were to go toward abstraction, while still retaining a reference to objects.

PICASSO and Braque, the initiators of the movement, created its most profound pictures. Picasso's portrait of Kahnweiler is a tightly controlled maze of planes and angles, reinforced by the power of radiant lights receding and advancing and contrasting with deep, shimmering dark notes. Braque, as in his masterly still life, *Homage to J. S. Bach,* is at once fluid and rigid, free and ordered and sparkling with grace and luminosity, as he composes variations on the form of a violin.

Juan Gris is more poised, precise and calculating, offering a detached, compact cubism. Leger exploits larger forms, and, as a prelude to his later clanging color, already manipulates brusque yellows, reds and

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blues. Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes (who collaborated on the first book on cubism), Jacques Villon and Louis Marcoussis, while all authors of striking canvases, are less original than the key inventors. Their work suggests that cubism, like all fertile art movements, inspired and revitalized lesser painters.

Two paintings in the show, although dating within the period, nevertheless look ahead to steps beyond cubism itself. Robert Delaunay's famous window theme rejects the general color austerity of Picasso and Braque, to flood the canvas with vibrant, lilting colors, and to merge the planes of window and buildings into an almost pure abstraction. Mondrian's grey-toned *The Sea* is remarkable for its rhythm of undulating, horizontal wave forms, which foretell a logical next step from analytical cubism to geometric abstraction.

A spectacular inclusion is Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*, which was target for most of the bricks hurled at the Armory Show. A precocious achievement by a painter then under twenty-five (who later abandoned painting for chess, dada anti-art gestures and compositions in glass) it still holds up as one of the most memorable compositions of the entire movement As a demonstration of the almost incredible rise of prices for modern art, it may be mentioned that Duchamp sold it in 1913 for $250 and that it is now insured for $50,000.

LIKE most art films, Luciano Emmer's *Picasso* confuses art and general film technique and fails to solve the subtle problem of presenting painting on the screen. The camera hops about the pictures like a grasshopper, across, up and down, perhaps in fear that the art, unassisted by animation, might bore the viewers. Rarely does the director pause to show a composition in its intended entirety. This anxiety for liveliness falsifies the art shown. A painting is an organic ensemble; it is not meant to move, or to compete with a film, or be "jazzed" up like an animated cartoon. Surely, sensitive direction can present a full painting, give a composition the chance to speak for itself and still avoid a stilted or static screen image.

A still greater sin, in the present instance, is committed by the narra-

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tion. This follows a sectarian party line on modern art. When Picasso approaches naturalism, his work is lauded as humanistically expressive, and truly art. When cubism is presented, or later departures from naturalism, the scenario hurries by as if discovering a skeleton in the artist's closet; for here, says the true word, art is in danger, it approaches chaos. Then, behold, the artist takes a step toward realism once more, thus bringing modern art back from (Picasso's) fumbling to (Picasso's) true greatness!

Inevitably, this attitude presents a dilemma when *Guernica,* the great mural dealing with the Spanish Civil War, is shown—jumpily. Its theme is heart-warming to all who hate war and destruction, and so the mural is highly and deservedly praised. Yet *Guernica's* force and power is achieved precisely through the kind of distortion—or, rather, the artist's emphasis, selectivity, inventiveness and economy—condemned earlier by the narration.

The film becomes truly exciting in the second half, when Picasso is seen at work. Stocky, lively, spurred on by his creative force, he moulds a ceramic or a flowing, dancing figure on a wall. The magic of watching a great artist and dynamic personality at work is irresistible.

Films

Robert Hatch

AS PERHAPS everyone knows by now, Lillian Roth is a popular singer who suffered for several years from acute alcoholism, recovered with the help of Alcoholics Anonymous and is now enjoying wide applause as a brave woman and an excellent entertainer. She wrote a book about her experiences, which is what reformed drunks commonly do, and this has now been turned by M.G.M. into a movie of uncommon good taste and understanding.

Credit for the decent tone of *I'll Cry Tomorrow* must go to Helen Deutsch and Jay Richard Kennedy, who adapted the book for the screen; and even more to Daniel Mann, who directed it, and Susan Hayward, who plays the lead. They have admitted the pathos of the story, but excluded the sentimentality; and somehow they have managed a saving reticence in a situation that demands gross violation of privacy. Honest respect and honest affection for Miss Roth are what keep the picture on its admirable level.

As a document, the picture has its merit and its defect. It may enlighten people who still do not know that alcoholism is a disease, with definable causes like any other disease. But Miss Roth's case is hardly typical (at least as here described). She reacted to alcohol like a flame in a room full of oxygen: she was a drunkard after the first drink and a flophouse derelict within months. Of course, she was the perfect victim (her mother destroyed her self-confidence in a morbid drive for success, and her sweetheart died on the eve of the marriage that was to be her justification and haven), but I hope that *I'll Cry Tomorrow* will not be used to revive the old prohibitionist myth that alcohol is a deadly poison. On the other hand, I wonder how many alcoholics are going to take comfort from the fact that their journey to skid row is slower and more decorous than Miss Roth's. In a sense she was lucky—she didn't waste much time.

Good as it is, the picture seems to me a curious form of entertainment. Whatever you may read in the comic strips, drunks are not amusing; they are terrible bores, and Miss Roth was no exception. The picture has no suspense and little conflict, for the cards are hopelessly stacked and the heroine goes down like a felled heifer. It is a morbid appetite that will get much recration here.

The picture has a couple of specific lapses. One of these is the character of Miss Roth's second husband, played by Richard Conte. I think he was insane—he appears to entertain a pathological hatred of drunks—but he is allowed to drift out of the picture after several quite horrible scenes with no real explanation of his behavior.

The other lapse is the manner of introducing Alcoholics Anonymous. Miss Roth, driven by remorse and weakness to suicide, cries out at the last moment to God for help. A second later she is seen climbing a brownstone stoop toward a small placard lettered "A. A." How much religion the directors of this valuable agency introduce into their therapy is their business, but I am made uncomfortable by this assumption of divine sponsorship. Eddie Albert, as the A. A. leader, gives a brilliant portrayal of a revivalist-psychiatrist.

THE ENGLISH are a body of Anglo-Saxons almost completely surrounded by Celts. This fey encirclement could account for the fact that, along with their celebrated gifts for government and trade, they enjoy the faculty of crediting the incredible. Psychical disturbances and telepathic communications are always assured of respectful attention in England, not only from the populace, but at the universities and in the astuter journals. A year or so ago, a husband-and-wife mind-reading act was "investigated," somewhat to its own astonishment, by a learned group headed by the late C. E. M. Joad; at present, some of the nation's best minds are attempting to reach conclusions about a series of virgin births claimed by some enterprising English ladies.

In this atmosphere, a picture like Ealing Studios' *The Night My Number Came Up* may cause the hair of an audience to start like quills upon the fretful porpentine. A military type has dreamed a fearful dream in which a plane-load of assorted passengers, specifically inventoried, crashes after a series of weather mishaps at a remote point on the Japanese coast. Lo and behold, a plane carrying just such a company soon finds itself flying through just such storms and comes to grief in the exact paddy field so remarkably foreseen. Since most of the passengers know of the dream, there is naturally a good deal of anxiety en route, and since the astral communique included no list of casualties, the picture builds a good deal of alleged suspense. However, if you don't subscribe to kismet or the infallibility of dreams, the laborious and humorless dovetailing of fact with fancy may put a sad damper on the melodramatic tingle. Michael Redgrave plays the ranking officer aboard with indescribable restraint.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

THE INTEREST at the concerts of the Symphony of the Air under Leonard Bernstein is not only in the music and performances but in what is happening to the orchestra and to Bernstein. What is happening to the orchestra is the inevitable: changes in players, and therefore changes in the playing. A year ago the Symphony of the Air *was* still the NBC Symphony in personnel, and *played* still like the NBC Symphony—with the discipline, the unity, and consequently the precision, finish and tonal beauty, that had been achieved by the years of rehearsing and playing under Toscanini. This year, with a number of new players and with no Toscanini to drill them and fuse them into the ensemble, the Symphony of the air *is* no longer the NBC Symphony, and therefore no longer sounds like it. That is to say, the orchestra which Bernstein conducted at the recent Mozart concert was an aggregation of players of virtuoso calibre, responsive and fine-sounding; but it was not the one he conducted a year ago, and did not produce the fabulous refinement of execution and sonority one heard then.

As for Bernstein himself, during much of the evening he operated within the limits he seems to accept when he conducts Mozart. And the results were admirable: a tremendously powerful performance of the slow introduction of the Overture to *Don Giovanni*, followed by a brilliant performance of the Allegro; a graceful, warm and exquisitely modeled performance of the lovely Symphony K.201; and sensitively adjusted orchestral contexts for the singing of Jennie Tourel in three arias. In these Bernstein revealed the specific gift for conducting opera, most impressively in his dealing with the preliminary recitative of the aria *Ch'io mi scordi di te* K.505. And in this aria he also played the obbligato piano part very effectively, giving the elaborately ornamented melodic writing, superb rhythmic continuity and dramatic force.

This brings me to the concluding work of the concert, the Piano Concerto K.453, in which Bernstein played the solo part, conducting the orchestra from the piano. The concerto, as I observed a couple of weeks ago, is one of the greatest in the series; and its first movement, a supreme example of Mozartian instrumental high comedy, calls for playing that points up its sharp-witted animation. It got such playing from the orchestra that prepared the listener for the entrance of the solo piano; but from Bernstein, when the piano entered, it got a lingering and melting over the melodies, a softening of their sharp contours, a finicky inflection, that sentimentalized them and reduced them to miniature. In the Andante, one of Mozart's most extraordinarily organized and affecting slow movements, a poignant opening statement recurs several times, played now by the orchestra, now by the piano, and pausing each time before an extended sequence of thought takes off from it. This opening statement not only was lingered over excessively by the orchestra but was sentimentalized beyond endurance by Bernstein on the piano. And in the finale the suddenly hushed and ominous variation in minor, with syncopations that create powerful tensions, was played by Bernstein in the finicky miniature style of the first movement. The fussy playing, moreover, was done with much rolling of the wrists and much hunching over them by an intensely swaying body. What it all adds up to is that in the concerto the seemingly irrepressible exhibitionist in Bernstein had himself a time after all.

The two other arias that Tourel sang besides *Ch'io mi scordi di te* were the beautiful *Zeffiretti lusinghieri* from *Idomeneo* and one I had never heard before, *Al desio di chi t'adora*, which Mozart wrote for a later production of *The Marriage of Figaro* in Vienna, and which seemed to me to fall below the level of the earlier incandescent writing in *Figaro*. As for Tourel's singing, it was small in volume and projective force but flawless in tone and phrasing.

EVEN LESS frequently played than Mozart's Piano Concerto K.453 is K.503, which Gieseking plays with the London Philharmonic under Rosbaud on Angel 35215. Here the infrequency is more understandable; for the first movement of K.503 doesn't begin with a theme as delightful and exquisite as the opening statement of K.453, and doesn't continue with invention as immediately appealing as one hears in K.453. What sets the first movement of K.503 apart from the others is the grandeur and majesty of its opening section—"a majestic assertion of . . . C major by the whole orchestra," in the words of Tovey, "with mysterious soft shadows that give a solemn depth to the tone." And these mysterious shadows of delicate woodwind textures after the initial radiance of the entire orchestra—the second time with a wonderful shift to C minor—are subtleties contrived for the eighteenth-century ear that may escape some listeners today. Another such subtlety is created with a reiterated rhythmic figure, which in the opening ritornello is carried to a point where it is trumpeted forth on the note G and leads to C minor: when the orchestra trumpets forth those G's again at the beginning of

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the development, they are answered in breathtaking fashion by the piano's reiteration of the figure on the note B, in a sudden shift to E minor that is the first of a series of such bold modulations.

The grandeur and majesty are heard in the orchestral part; but Gieseking makes of the piano part another of his finely chiseled miniatures. The dramatically powerful first movement of the Concerto K.466 on the reverse side impels him to achieve more force, but a force that is not sustained—sometimes not even as far as the end of a phrase.

WHEREAS Urania, a year ago, gave us the suite and the symphony that Prokofiev made out of the substance of his score for the ballet *The Prodigal Son*, Vox PL-9310 now gives us the original ballet score in its entirety. It includes some of Prokofiev's finest writing—notably the music for the scene of the prodigal alone after he has been despoiled. The excellent performance by the New York City Ballet Orchestra under Barzin was recorded in an overly live studio.

Letters

The McMahon Five-Year Plan

Dear Sirs: In an address before the Senate February 2, 1950, the late Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, made the following proposal; "We now spend about fifteen billion dollars for armaments. Why not offer to take two-thirds of this sum, or ten billion dollars, and instead of amassing sterile weapons use it to foster peace throughout the world for a five-year period? Why not offer to spread the annual ten billion dollars over three programs: President Truman's Point Four proposal, development of atomic energy everywhere for peace, and general economic aid and help to all countries, including Russia? Such a global Marshall Plan might combine with the marvelous power of peacetime atomic energy to generate universal material progress and a universal cooperative spirit.

"In exchange for our own contribution of ten billion dollars annually, we would ask: (1) general acceptance of an effective program for international control of atomic energy, and (2) an agreement by all countries, enforced through inspection, that two-thirds of their present spending upon armaments be devoted toward constructive ends. Administration of the annual ten billion dollars which we offered to make available would be carried out through the United Nations.

"Such a proposal, if advanced by our government, might vividly bring home to all the world's population—in a manner far more successful than we have so far used—the profundity of our desire for peace. It would accomplish this result even if it accomplished nothing else. If the proposal were actually accepted, we would have concluded the cheapest monetary bargain in our history; we would have probably saved mankind from destruction by fire; and we would have paved the way toward a new era of unimagined abundance for all men, based upon atomic energy constructively harnessed."

At the close of his speech Senator McMahon received the congratulations of his colleagues, but his proposal never came to a vote. Five years have passed. The policies of "containment" and "massive retaliation" have failed. NATO still has only a documentary existence. A policy of "liberation" is quixotic, to say the least.

Is it possible, now that the international climate is changing, for the makers of our foreign policy to give serious consideration to Senator McMahon's Five-Year Plan? May not such a plan be incorporated in the platforms of our two political parties in the coming election? I assume that the men of the Kremlin and the Pentagon are sane and that they realize that the destruction of Hiroshima marks a crisis in the history of civilization. They would subscribe, I am sure, to the words of William James that "when whole nations are the armies, and the science of destruction vies in inteliectual refinement with the science of production, I see that war becomes absurd and impossible from its own absurdity."

The recognition of this fact is the very core of any future international ethics. The Machiavellian policy of exclusive self-interest must be radically modified in the light of modern conditions where, as Senator McMahon observed, "only one-third of the world's 2,200,000,000 people receive enough food to sustain life on a decent basis. The other two-thirds live continuously at the margins of starvation."

Disarmament and the resulting peace can come only when a feeling of confidence and good will can take the place of distrust, fear and hatred. Senator McMahon's Five-Year Plan offers the prospect that the next generation of our young men will not be trained in the art of destruction. Under such a plan the primary function of the United Nations will be, not the prevention of aggression, but the promotion of understanding, cooperation and well-being among all mankind.

FRANK F. POTTER.

Pullman, Wash.

Correction on Kenya

Dear Sirs: There is one important fact in the editorial of Mr. Edgar Snow in your issue of October 29 which I feel should not go uncorrected. The statement is made that in Kenya 4,000 Europeans own 16,000 square miles, while a million Kikuyus hold only 2,000 acres of land once exclusively theirs. The actual size of the Kikuyu land unit is 1,964 square miles, not 2,000 acres. Of the 16,000 square miles which comprise the "White Highlands" in Kenya, about 4,000 square miles is forest reserve which exists for the benefit of all races in Kenya.

However, it is the figure given in regard to the Kikuyus which is more important. Very little, in fact, of the "White Highlands" was ever exclusively Kikuyu land. Not less than 9,000 square miles was land which until the coming of the European was unoccupied except for intermittent grazing by the Masai. Most of this was acquired from the Masai by treaty. Of the 3,000 remaining square miles, most also was genuinely uninhabited, but it was found that an area of about thirty square miles which was Kikuyu land had been alienated in circumstances in which compensation was due to the tribe, and this was paid.

There is, of course, no doubt that the growth of the Kikuyu tribe, due in large measure to the cessation of tribal wars, improved health services and greater economic opportunity has caused them to press very heavily on the land available to them. It is the over-grazing and over-population of this land which has reduced its fertility, rather than the fact that it was poor in the first place. The policy of the Kenya government has been to encourage the culling of poor stock, to open up new areas for African settlement by irrigation and the destruction of tsetse flies and to improve their agriculture by teaching them new crops and new methods.

A. CAMPBELL,
Colonial Attache,
British Embassy.

Washington, D. C.

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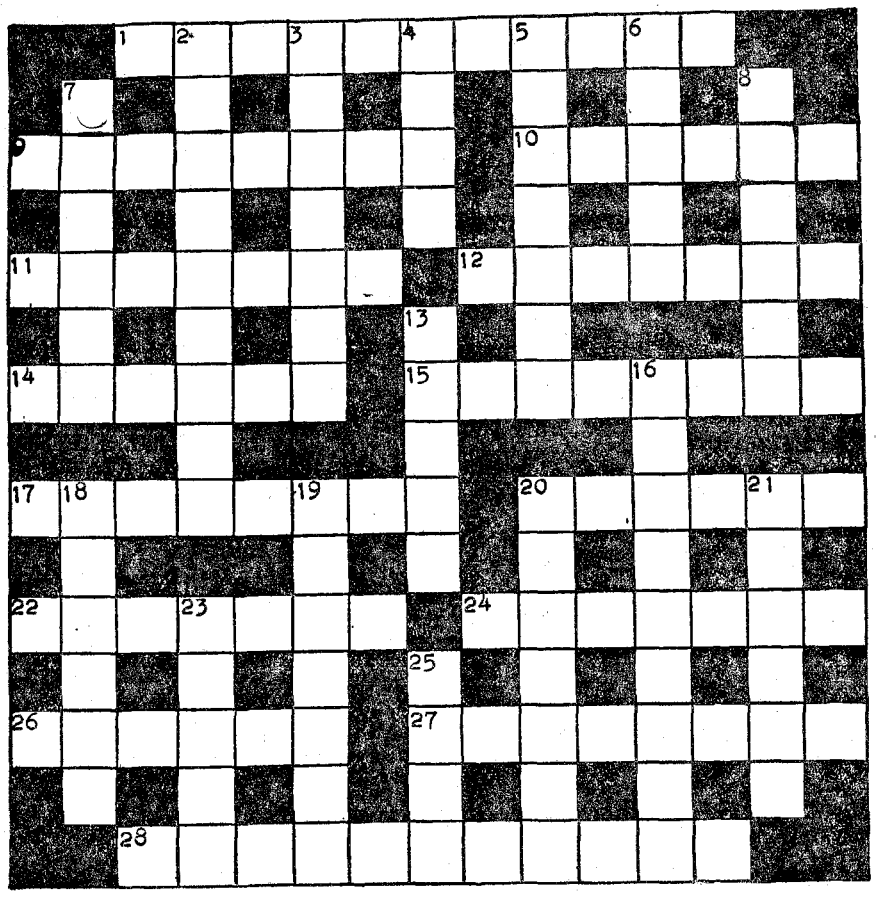
Crossword Puzzle No. 656

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 An untimed, if unusual, way of getting on (and on!) (2,9)
9 A birdie is the main sort in a round of golf. (8)
10 See 3 down.
11 Only the oldsters will remember it as a drag and vary its makeup. (7)
12 Ran amok behind bars, and caused slaughter? (7)
14, 13 down, and 20 across Evidently not aware of the sudden change. (One shouldn't be, particularly if the line is busy!) (6,2,3,6)
15 Standing round giving first aid? (8)
17 Always found in seafood when hot, perhaps. (8)
20 See 14 across.
22 They hang on the rocks—let's put the little devil inside! (7)
24 Tells how they attend class at some schools. (7)
26 See 7 down.
27 Minds, when this, could make it be done differently. (8)
28 Not exactly a shop steward, but he might be expected to supply a certain amount of counterintelligence. (11)

DOWN

2 Just the sort of steelwork to hold back the play, in part? (9)
3 and 10 across Stairs that go up 1 across? (7,6)
4 and 25 down Pressing business, perhaps. (8)
5 Left in a swell mess! (7)
6 Combination that sometimes covers the whole field. (5)
7 and 26 Gets better and worse at the same time, but the going should be good. (5,7)
8 Go up, but stay away from the outside of the office. (6)
13 See 14 across.
16 In a way, loiter about a bit, with one of the old marines. (9)
18 Draw out, or tie up several numbers inside. (6)
19 The result of treeing one or two, for example? (7)
20 Genuine, since really it doesn't have any support. (7)
21 Make a firm 6 with men and so forth shuffled around. (6)
23 Your option might be to take nothing more than a sort of this. (5)
25 See 4 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 655

ACROSS: 1 SCALES; 5 OBSERVE; 10 TRAINBAND; 11 LOANS; 12 OUTLIVE; 13 RUCTION; 14 GOING; 16 OTHERWISE; 18 DISCREDIT; 20 EAGLE; 22 and 5 POINT OF ORDER; 24 ATTICUS; 26 NEATH; 27 SPATIALLY; 28 SCENTED; 29 EASTER. DOWN: 3 and 2 LANDING CRAFT; 4 STATEHOOD; 6 SPLICER; 7 REALIZING; 8 ESSENCE; 9 STRONG; 15 INSTIGATE; 17 HIT PARADE; 18 DAPHNIS; 19 RATCHET; 20 ENTAILS; 21 ESSAYS; 23 FUSED; 25 CHLOE.

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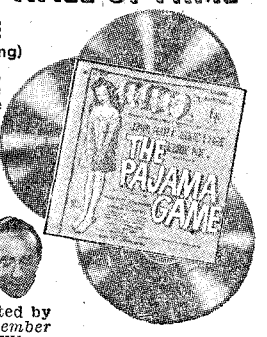

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